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Central American—The Dallas-Clarendon Treaty—What is Our True Policy?

Our readers will have perceived from our special Washington despatches that, unpopular as the Dallas-Clarendon Central American treaty appears to be among the democracy of the school of "Young America," the prevailing impression is that it will be ratified by the Senate, the Committee on Foreign Relations having reported in its favor.

Here the questions recur—What are the objects of this treaty, and what shall we gain by it? Its objects seem to be: first, the quiet removal of General Walker from Nicaragua and the complete extinguishing of his plan of a great Anglo-Saxon Central American confederacy "based upon military principles," through this new joint protectorate of England and the United States; secondly, a recognition of the right of eminent domain in the Mosquito King and his Indians to that vast tract of fertile country known as the Mosquito coast; third, a free government to Greytown, under certain commercial restrictions, and the neutrality of the Nicaragua Transit route; but, above all, a definite understanding between the high contracting parties in reference to Central American affairs, in lieu of the double construction stipulations of the Clayton-Bulwer convention.

Such seem to be the objects of this new arrangement between Mr. Dallas and Lord Clarendon, under the special auspices of Secretary Marcy; but what we are to gain by this new treaty, in the way of any special local benefit or national advantage, it may not be so easy to comprehend. Undoubtedly we gain a more distinct agreement with England on the subjects involved, than under the existing treaty, and an abandonment on the part of Clarendon of his peculiar interpretation of the first article of the Clayton-Bulwer concern; but on the other hand, this new treaty embarks us in a dangerous field of enterprise, somewhat inconsistent with the Monroe doctrine of European non-intervention in the affairs of the independent States of this continent, and rather incompatible with our quiet and simple policy heretofore, of avoiding all entangling alliances with foreign nations.

We undertake, in conjunction with England, the supreme government of the Central American States, to mark their boundaries, to prescribe their commercial privileges and limitations, to define their duties towards certain Indians, including landed possessions, annuities, &c., and to do various other things which ordinarily may be done only by the supreme authority over a colony. In fact, if the Central American States had surrendered themselves at discretion, as mere colonial possessions, under the joint possession and protection of England and the United States, we could hardly assume a more self-complacent tone of absolute authority than in this Dallas-Clarendon treaty. It may be said in this, that Marcy, like Clayton, plumes himself as having achieved a great thing; whereas, if he only knew it, he has been "sold." When the administration of Mr. Fillmore refused to enter into the proposed tripartite arrangement with England and France for insuring to Spain the perpetuation of her sovereignty over the island of Cuba, the refusal was hailed with the universal approval of the American people. Had it been safe, however, to put his hand in the lion's mouth, it is very likely that Mr. Fillmore would have initiated the old fogey policy of Mr. Clayton, in adopting this proposed triple alliance for the protection of Cuba against the "manifest destiny" of the United States. He refused because he could do nothing else, in view of the public opinion of the whole Union.

But although there may be very little difference, in principle, between this rejected tripartite treaty for the protection of Cuba, and this Dallas-Clarendon convention for the protection of the Central American States, it is still true that times, localities and circumstances alter cases. In both these cases the policy of England may perhaps be the same—that of arresting the expansion of the political, naval and commercial power of the United States in and around the Gulf of Mexico. Why, then, should the rejection of the Cuban tripartite protocol be a matter of congratulation, even by the United States Senate, while the Dallas-Clarendon compact is accepted, which proposes the same substantial guarantees against the supremacy of the United States in Central America?

Let us explain. The Monroe doctrine has become an obsolete idea. We cannot, at this day, isolate ourselves from the rest of the world as the Chinese have done for centuries past; for even the Chinese must now open their doors. We belong to the family of the great maritime and commercial nations of the earth. Steamships, gold mines, cotton, telegraphs, &c., have blended the interests of all the great maritime nations, and thus in the commercial movements of England, France, or the United States, whether in China or Central America, all are affected and interested. Thus we find the British and American forces co-operating as commercial allies in an actual war upon the refractory Chinese; and thus it may be as much to our commercial advantage as to the advantage of England to enter into this joint protectorate over Central America. Peace—internal peace—is necessary in those countries for the purposes of commerce in both oceans, and if this peace can only be secured through a joint protectorate with England, let it be tried. When we are tired of it, we can abrogate it. But, considering the present world wide commercial aspects of our relations with England, and considering the fact that our New York steamship companies have thrown the golden prize of Nicaragua away, through their foolish rivalries, we conclude that it would be just as well to ratify this Dallas-Clarendon treaty, and bring these Central American squabbles to a close.

The Investigating Committee. This body, it is understood, will complete its investigations and let the public have the result of them some day this week. Up to this time notwithstanding the attempts of the committee to keep their proceedings a secret, there has leaked through the keyholes and cracks in the wall enough to lead the public to entertain hopes that the committee will not have been appointed in vain. Notices have already been served upon at least two Congressmen—Welch of Connecticut, and Gilbert of New York—to the effect that they are accused by credible witnesses of having been guilty of corruption, and that they are expected to clear themselves from the charge. It is said that Judge Edwards, the gentleman to whom Mr. Maine referred when he made the speech which was mainly instrumental in procuring the appointment of the committee, has given an "explanation" which is considered satisfactory. The public will be glad to have this explanation, as also the defenses of the other members whose purity has been impugned. It is of course impossible to say, at this con-

junction, whether or no the committee's labors will end in the conviction of any of the criminals. We in New York, before Judge Russell's advent, were quite used to see rogues escape, and we should not be at all shocked to hear that the Congressional rogues enjoyed a similar impunity, for there is no Judge Russell in Congress. Ways and means will not be wanting if the committee desire to let the guilty go free. A severe speech in Congress may be the worst punishment that awaits them.

But even with this miserable end to their labors, the committee would not have lived wholly in vain. The fright has been wholesome. Many a scheme, in imitation of the famous Minnesota—the Woodworth's patent, the Pacific Railroad—have been precipitately dropped, and got under the table, lest these tremendous committee-men should come to hear of it, and put unpleasant questions to the parties concerned. Many a lobby member who calculated on clearing his twenty-five or thirty thousand net has been obliged to retrench; and has laughed in his sleeve at meetings of evidence of Spartan virtue in faces which once were supple enough. Our public lands have been greatly helped by the committee. Instead of millions of acres to speculators, it seems doubtful whether a single one of the host of dishonest bills to give Uncle Sam's land away will be passed at the present session of Congress. Of patent extensions we hear little or nothing. Before the committee, it was instructive to notice the sudden enthusiasm with which Congressmen, Senators, lobby members and newspaper correspondents had taken to the study of mechanics and dynamics; now, it seems, the higher branches of political science have resumed their wonted way. Nor it is likely that this wholesome effect of the Corruption Committee will have worn off before the close of the session.

If, on the other hand, the committee should really report—as it has examined—in earnest, there is no saying what may not be the effect of the investigation. If we could only have charges of corruption plainly and clearly fastened on members of Congress, or members of the lobby—if we could have them fairly and honestly tried and sentenced, and held up to public contempt—then, indeed, would the names of the members of the committee go down to posterity enshrined in honor. Perhaps to expect so much is utopian. Nobody doubts that there are some members of Congress, and all of the lobby, who are corrupt. Nobody questions but that votes are sold every session. Nobody believes that the committee is corrupt, or that it does not desire to do its duty. Yet, in spite of all these facts, nobody expects that any one will be punished, not even Simon, who, by his own confession, has been a sort of lobby bribery-broker in Washington for some years.

Alleged Increase of Crime in New York—Motives of the Recent Complaints Against the Police.

The columns of some of our contemporaries have lately been devoted to violent attacks upon the police force, in connection with the garroting and other nightly outrages committed within their jurisdiction. It is asserted that these offenses have increased considerably of late, and that this increase is solely to be attributed to the negligent and inefficient discharge of their duties by the police. Now, in the wholesale application of charges like these, we think that decency required that some slight show of evidence should be brought forward to sustain them; otherwise their coincidence with certain movements in Albany to alter the whole character of our city government, and to revolutionize, in particular, the police force, suggests the suspicion that the excitement got up in connection with these occurrences is purely of a political character. Curious to ascertain how far this idea is well founded, we have taken the trouble to institute an investigation into the facts, and we present in another column the results of our inquiries.

From the evidence thus collected it would appear that there is not only not the slightest foundation for the charges, but that the responsibility of the occurrences on which they are based is entirely due to corrupt influences, which the parties making them are now trying to extend through all the other ramifications of our city government. But first, as regards a question of fact, let us premise that there is no truth in the assertion that there is any considerable increase in the number of these outrages. They are about the same that they usually are at this season, the only difference being in the character of the assaults themselves, the garroting system appearing to have come into as great vogue amongst us as amongst the people of London. If there is any unusual excitement at all on the subject, it is probably owing to the startling and dangerous form which these outrages have assumed, and certainly efforts should be made to oppose some check to them. We are sorry to inform our readers, however, that if their occurrence is to be arrested, it will not be by the police as at present constituted. The police are but human creatures, and they cannot effect physical impossibilities. Their numbers are too limited to enable them to afford to our citizens the amount of protection which is expected of them. It is the habit, in complaining of the inefficiency of the police, to contrast the results of their guardianship with those of the London force. But in doing this their relative inferiority in point of numbers is never taken into account. Let us just see how the fact stands.

London has a patrol force, exclusive of officers, of 6,725 men, with a population (in 1852) of 2,363,141. The whole police force of New York is only 1,100, and from this is to be deducted 167 captains, lieutenants and doormen, and about 200 on detailed duty, leaving for patrol duty only 800 men. Taking our population at 650,000, this would give only one policeman to every 812½ inhabitants, whilst London has one to every 351½. The statement of this disparity in numbers would in itself be sufficient to account for the difference in the amount of protection enjoyed by the citizens of London; but to give our readers a clearer idea of the practical effect of this inferiority of strength in our own force, we will add that for a district like the Eighteenth ward, which covers a square half mile of territory, we have only a patrol force, all deductions made, of about thirty men. Hence to each man is allotted a beat of four or five streets, of about a quarter of a mile in length, which our readers will at once see it is physically impossible for him to protect properly, unless indeed he had the ubiquitous qualities of Sir Boyle Roche's famous bird. As garrote robberies and burglaries are only attempted in groups of four or five, so that a couple of the thieves may be detailed to watch the movements of the policeman, it inevitably follows that the latter is never able to arrive in time at the spot where the robbery is committed. It will be said that the simple remedy for this is to increase the

force; but this the local authorities have no power to do. The number of the police is limited by an act of the Legislature, and since 1850 there has been no increase in it, although since that period the area and population of the city have increased more than one-third. It is clear, therefore, that until such an augmentation of the force is made as the exigencies of the public service demand, it is impossible that the body should be found equal to all its requirements.

It is true that the experiment suggested to us by a correspondent might in a measure improve the present state of things and insure greater security to our citizens at night. It is recommended that instead of keeping half the men on duty during the day whilst the other half are sleeping, there should be no street patrols at all before five o'clock in the afternoon. Small bodies of men, however, should be kept at the station houses ready to act if called upon. In this way a third more might be added to the strength of the street patrols at night; and their greater efficiency would be secured by requiring the captains to make periodical rounds, like the field officers of a regularly constituted military force. This, however, is only an expedient to supply, in part, the measure which the necessity of the case demands. It remains to be seen whether it would work satisfactorily as regards the health of the men.

If, however, the other parties in whose hands the conservation of public order is centred, discharged their duties as effectively as the police, there is no doubt that much of the dissatisfaction that is at present expressed would be spared. The evil is not so much that offenders escape detection, but that by one corrupt influence or another they are subsequently enabled to evade punishment. Out of the thousands of arrests yearly made in our city, scarcely one-third are sent before the Grand Jury for indictment. With whom does the blame of this *laches* lie? Certainly not with the police. If our committing magistrates are so indifferent to the responsibilities of their position as to allow outside pressure from political sources to sway their decisions, the interests of the citizens must suffer, and the guilty will escape the penalty of their crimes. The facility with which the most notorious offenders escape by these means the legal consequences of their acts, cannot but operate as an encouragement generally to the commission of crime. On the depressing effects of examples like these on the minds of policemen, who find only frowns where they expected approval, and censure where they anticipated reward, it is unnecessary for us to dwell. The tendency of all such influences must be to dishearten and demoralize even the best disciplined body, and the only surprise to us is that under such circumstances our police should be so effective and respectable a force as they are. For the evils of which their accusers complain, those parties have only themselves to blame, for it is the corrupt influences which they have introduced into all the departments of our city government which have wasted profitably the public revenues and poisoned the very fountains of justice.

THE LATE PRESTON S. BROOKS—CONGRESSIONAL MOCKERY AND FLATTERY—A Christian missionary among the Feejee Islanders, wholly ignorant of the savage outrages in the United States Senate chamber of May last, on reading the late funeral speeches delivered in both houses of Congress upon the character and public services of Preston S. Brooks, would naturally suppose the deceased to be possessed of the gentleness of a Fenelon, the chivalry of a Bayard, the patriotism of a Leonidas, the eloquence of a Cicero, and the statesmanship of a Hamilton.

The missionary would exclaim—so young, too, and yet so great! What a loss to his country! What a loss to mankind! But who can imagine the astonishment of the innocent missionary, on being subsequently convinced that the only personal act which has given the late Mr. Brooks a public notoriety beyond his Congressional district, was an act of murderous barbarity, disgraceful to himself and to his State, and calculated deeply to disgrace our country, its society and its institutions in the eyes of the whole world, not excepting the Feejee Islanders?

Such are the Egyptian mockeries and mummies of Congress over dead Congressmen. We find no pleasure in these hypocritical eulogies in honor of the deceased Mr. Brooks. The only thing which has made him a conspicuous public character—the only thing which overshadowed all other things, with every speaker and every listener of these Congressional glorifications—was the very thing which no member of Congress, except one, had the moral courage to defend or to touch upon as an act of heroism. Singularly enough, the name of that member is expressed in the very word that most fully defines the character of the deed which he was consistent and courageous enough to glorify to the last. There was a savage manliness in this that is refreshing, whatever we may say of a want of prudish delicacy. The moral, however, of these funeral orations and orations in memory of Mr. Brooks is a painful one. It is another striking illustration of the demoralizing influences of party politics in these degenerate times. The funeral triumph of Mr. Brooks forcibly reminds us, in fact, of the memorable pageant in New York city to the memory of Bill Poole. He was a shining light among the Know Nothings of our city—they believed that he felt a martyr to what they called his "American principles." His last words were, "I die a true American;" and so he was honored with a funeral display exceeding in the popular turn out the reception here of General Jackson, and even of Lafayette; and scarcely excelled by the reception of Kosuth. Yet the death which thus made Bill Poole immortal was brought upon him in a drunken row, and his loss was a gain to the community. Yet he was a partisan hero and a party martyr, and so they covered over the infamy of his acts with the glory of his principles.

With regard to Preston S. Brooks, the most charitable construction we can put upon that assault in the Senate chamber is that it was done under the murderous excitement of partisan advice and alcohol. We are willing to admit this plea; but we deplore that party demoralization which, in Congress, in the case of a Mr. Snooks or a Mr. Brooks, aspires to emulate our New York glorifications over the illustrious Bill Poole. These are among the most lamentable evidences of that decay in party decencies and public morals which is always the harbinger of national fatalities. All these party debaucheries, too, may be traced to the greedy and ravenous contention among our politicians, cliques, factions and parties for the public purse and plunder. Too much of prosperity and riches is productive of luxury, indolence, official corruption and general demoralization and ruin. We have the warning of the future in the history of the past. There is nothing healthy or sound in these honors to

Poole or Brooks. They are evidences only of party demoralization and public ruin. Let us have no more of them.

PROGRESS OF THE ITALIAN OPERA.—We give elsewhere a letter from Mr. Strakosch to the editor of another journal, in which the *empresario* makes the most positive assertion that he manages the Opera "himself alone," as Caesar conquered Spain, or as Napoleon crossed the Alps. The case is precisely as we have previously stated it. Mr. Strakosch had something to advertise, and he chose those journals having the largest circulation for his purpose. In so doing he only followed the example of other clever business men. The Harpers advertise their newspaper and their magazine—Bonner his *Ledger*—Stewart his dry goods, almost exclusively in the journals selected by Strakosch, and we never heard their right to do so questioned, even by the small papers who have endeavored to bully Strakosch into giving them a few dollars to sustain their miserable hand-to-mouth existence. Suppose one of these small journals should advise the public not to buy of Stewart because he did not mail them with his advertisements. How absurd it would seem, and what a curious effect it would have, so far as its limited circulation could have any effect. This course, however, they have pursued with Strakosch, and the result has proved that he was right. All their humping and vituperation have not taken a dollar from his pocket, and it has probably had rather a beneficial effect than otherwise. The season is already half finished, and has been successful, pecuniarily and artistically; and that in spite of the most terrible weather, which has had a serious effect on all public amusements. The groundless attacks upon Strakosch doubtless caused a great many persons who would otherwise have been indifferent, to give him their sympathy and support, while his own tact has done the rest. He brought forward Mme. de Wilhorsk precisely at the right moment, and she achieved an unprecedented success, attracting two splendid houses at the worst season of the year, and in a role that had been done to death. While the young prima donna is studying a new role, he gives us Parodi in the "Favorita," with a strong cast—other operas with a strong combination of artists are in preparation, and the season, which has been exceedingly interesting, promises to be brilliantly successful. Of course the small papers howl more loudly than ever at this position of affairs; but they are like the Chinese, who proposed to frighten the English troops with horrible noises. Strakosch is master of the situation.

MORE OF CABINET MAKING NONSENSE.—Among our latest advices from Washington we are told that the Robert J. Walker clique are becoming impatient at Mr. Buchanan's delay in putting the said Walker at the head of the Treasury; that the Forney influence is brought to bear in favor of Walker (poor Forney! as if he were in a condition to do anything yet awhile)—that Forney will certainly be Postmaster General; that Glancy Jones is already appointed to the office; that Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, will be Secretary of State; that Marcy, after all, will be retained, and that the chances are best of all for Hunter, of Virginia. Such is our news from the Washington Cabinet makers. Truly, we fear that they will have to give it up till Mr. Buchanan goes back to Wheatland.

THE LATEST NEWS.

BY PRINTING AND MAGNETIC TELEGRAPH.

MR. BUCHANAN GOING TO WHEATLAND—CABINET RUMORS—THE NEW ORGANS—THE DIFFICULTY WITH VENEZUELA—THE CHAFFEE INDIA RUBBER PATENT.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 1, 1887.

Mr. Buchanan will leave here for Wheatland on Tuesday, if nothing happens.

Up to this time every body is in a fog with reference to who is going into the Cabinet. History has no parallel to the pressure that has been made upon Mr. Buchanan to put certain gentlemen in the Cabinet. I learn to-day that the friends of Mr. Hunter have withdrawn him from the field.

There seems to be some difficulty and no little excitement among the organs since it has been ascertained that Major Heiss is about to establish another democratic paper here, which may possibly divide up the printing, as the Major has a host of friends in both Houses